

I am in Earnest---I will not Equivocate---I will not Excuse---I will not Retreat one single inch; and I will be heard
—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

WE stand in the presence of a revolution—not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not the special interests.—Woodrow Wilson in the New Freedom.

THE TRUTH



Permit No. 40
Duluth, Minn. 1c. Paid

VOLUME II. NO. 32

DULUTH, MINN., AUGUST 9, 1918

WHOLE NUMBER 60

THE DULUTH HERALD AND TOM MOONEY

The following editorial appeared in the Duluth Herald, August 2nd:

"Frank P. Walsh, labor chairman of the national war labor board, wants Federal troops sent into California to save Tom Mooney if the state authorities don't act. The governor of California having postponed Mooney's execution till December to give him every chance to exhaust all legal possibilities, probably Walsh's extreme remedy won't be necessary.

"Mooney is a good deal of a puzzle. We don't know whether he is guilty or not guilty of the bomb explosion July 22, 1916, during a 'preparedness parade' in San Francisco, when nine persons were killed and forty injured. But we do know that the case against him is about ninety-nine per cent prejudice because he is a 'labor agitator,' and about one per cent very dubious evidence. Moreover, he is a man the public utility powers of San Francisco had sworn to 'get,' and the public utility powers have been very active in his prosecution.

So far as Mooney is concerned personally, we wouldn't put it past him to do this thing. He has long been a labor leader of the most radical type, the 'direct action' type, which means that he is not averse to employing such methods as he is accused of in this case. As a labor agitator he seems to have been a reckless extremist of the dangerous sort. Yet in large part that is because the opponents of labor in San Francisco are also reckless extremists of the most dangerous sort, and if labor leaders have resorted to vicious methods, so have the large employers of that city.

"Mooney probably isn't what most of us would call a 'desirable citizen,' from all accounts. He was accused of dynamiting once before, but was acquitted. There is no doubt that he has counseled methods too radical to be tolerated.

"But—
"He has not been proved guilty of the crime for which he has been sentenced to die. Nobody can read the full story of the case with an open mind without agreeing to that. One man, Oxman, upon whose testimony his conviction largely rested, was later shown to be a liar, a perjurer and a suborner of perjury, probably under pay from the powerful and unscrupulous opponents of organized labor in San Francisco.

"In the circumstances, therefore, the execution of Mooney would be a shocking miscarriage of justice. Money dead would be a far more dangerous factor in the social confusions of the hour than Mooney living, no matter how dangerously radical he may seem to be."

The editor of the Duluth Herald lives up to the traditions of his set. All capitalist editors are paid to distort the truth. Not one editor of any capitalist newspaper could retain his job for one day, if he told the truth. The capitalist class realize the power of the press, we regret to state, more than the workers do.

The capitalists are thoroughly alive to the power of the press. And how assiduously they develop and support it that it may in turn support their interests!

The press is one of their most valuable assets, and, as an investment, pays the highest dividends.

When our workers are out on strike, every foul word in the dictionary is used against them. Every action of the workers is lied about. Men are accused of murder if they even talk to a scab. No mercy whatsoever comes from a capitalist editor, if a striker gets in trouble.

God pity the man who is arrested and charged with the crime of standing by his class. The capitalist editors will condemn him before he has been tried.

THE DULUTH HERALD IS NO EXCEPTION.
In the above editorial they presume to stand by Mooney. That is their hypocritical way.

Tom Mooney, says the editor, deserves a new trial, but—we believe he would murder.

Tom Mooney and his whole life can be placed under the searchlight of public opinion and Tom Mooney would not care. Because he has nothing to fear. How many capitalist editors would agree to their lives being bared? HOW MANY, WE ASK?

The editor of the Herald accuses Tom Mooney of being capable of murder, because he is hearing his master's voice. The editor of the Herald dare not write the truth if he wanted to. But one would expect that, nevertheless, the editor would at least give fair play to a man lying in a condemned cell. The above editorial condemns the editor of the Herald in the eyes of ALL right-thinking men and women. He has stooped as low as it is possible for any man to stoop, and that is to attack a man who lies in the shadow of the gallows. Some day there is going to be a transvaluation of present day values. When that day comes, the editor of the Herald will be valued at his real worth. He is just a parasite upon the working-class and like all parasites he will be compelled to earn his living in a more honorable way.

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER SAYS EUGENE V. DEBS

By EUGENE V. DEBBS.

The fight we are in today to prevent our tongues from being tied and our lips from being sealed and the last vestige of our liberty destroyed demands that we stand together. The gravest consequences hinge upon the outcome. If we are beaten now it means that our voices have been silenced, our propaganda suppressed, our party outlawed, and our movement paralyzed and set back for years.

No matter what our differences under ordinary circumstances, we must now get together and stand together shoulder to shoulder in this fight for the life of our party and our personal liberty.

There are those who emphasize economic activity in preference to political activity and vice versa in our party and propaganda work, but whether it be the one or the other we are all now vitally interested in winning the fight for free speech and the right of free assemblage.

We are all in the same boat and we shall ride safely into port or go to the bottom together.

In this hour of crisis we can well lay aside all differences regarding the war and the particular form of organization and method of activity in our party work and respond with willing hearts to the demand for a united front all along the battle line.

If free speech is suppressed; if Socialist literature is denied access to the mails; if free assemblage is prohibited our cause for the present at least is hopeless.

We shall all lie crushed and voiceless beneath the iron heel. The powers that be will be supreme and gloat over our ignominious end.

And our exit from the field of combat would be an ignominious one for it could result only from our own blind and stupid refusal to recognize our common danger and stand together in defense of our common cause.

I shall not believe this fate possible to the Socialist Party. The party will not betray itself and others can not destroy it.

We can only lose this fight by losing it ourselves.

The fight and all that depends upon it can be lost if we fail to unite.

It can be won only if we stand together, heart to heart, and shoulder to shoulder.

Let the battle cry ring out all along the line. Get together, comrades, and stand together like a wall of living granite until the battle is fought and the victory won for free speech, a free press, the right of free assemblage, and the fundamental principles of democracy and freedom!

HAVE YOU READ THE LATEST NUMBER OF THE RADICAL REVIEW?

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

By P. J. DOYLE.

Guard ye the Right to Strike! Let nothing enter in, To curb that God-given freedom, that heritage of men. Won through the toil of ages, in hovel, mine and mill. Through misery, tears and anguish, through life and death until

The dawn came and found you, secure against the foe. The hills of hope high o'er you, the world to win below!

Guard ye the Right to Strike! Remember ancient wrongs, You've fought for human justice, and surely that belongs To you who've made the nation the land it is today, In spite of unrelenting toil and less-than-living pay: Compulsion! God forbid that it should come within our time,

To rivet chains upon you and brand your efforts crime!

EVEN THE RICH ARE KICKING!

A New York Bill of Fare in a high-toned hotel: Cantaloupe, 80 cents; Vegetables, 80 cents; Roast Lamb, \$1.25; Sweetbreads, \$1.75; Steaks or Chops, \$2.00.

Two hundred per cent higher than the other eating houses. The size of the portion is reduced to save food and the price raise seems to be an effort to equalize the profits of the profiteers.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OF TELEGRAPH, ETC.

Many papers, Socialist included, we regret to say, are heralding the government control of certain industries as a step towards Socialism.

Any Socialist who understands the fundamentals of Socialism, knows that such a step in behalf of any government, is not a step towards Socialism, but a step towards the security of capitalism. Capitalism realizing that its end is near, is using the State as a means to preserve itself.

If government ownership is Socialism, then all we require to do, is to get votes and the social revolution will have been accomplished. But you know and we know that votes alone will not win the social revolution. If votes count for anything, they should have counted for something in Germany, but we know that the four million Socialist voters in Germany could do nothing to stop the war. Government ownership means nothing to the Socialist movement. We are only a political party for the sole purpose of propagating our ideas and also with a view to securing control of the State and destroying it. Political action is destructive, industrial organization, on an industrial basis, is constructive. We destroy the power of the capitalist on one hand and go on with our constructive work on the other.

Reforms do not benefit the workingclass. They eat the life out of our movement and paralyze the workingclass. Look at Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Schenectady and other cities and their say that government or municipal ownership is a step towards the revolution. All our activities in the direction of government ownership cause us to dissipate our energy in wild goose chases that do not contribute one iota to the cause of Socialism.

Socialism stands for workingclass ownership, collective ownership, anything less than that is a compromise. We have nothing in common with the capitalists, yet they are in favor of government ownership. Hence it logically follows that we have nothing in common with government ownership. A few of our "intellectual" comrades cherish the hope that some day they may place their paws in the political trough, but that is not emancipating the rank and file. We have only one demand and that is that labor is entitled to all it can get. The full control of industry by the workers will mean the satisfying of that demand.

We are strong as a party when we stand for nothing else but Socialism. Then we can make real headway. We can only gain the confidence of the workers when we come out straight for the real issue. We are out to free the workers. Free them from what? Capitalism. What is capitalism? Control of industry by the capitalists. Se we must get on the job, organize the workers and when our industrial organization is strong enough, there will be no blood shed, because we will have all the power in our hands. So on with industrial socialism, that is industrial unionism.

Government ownership and other reforms mean destroyed hopes and a destroyed movement.

Industrial unionism means the downfall of capitalism and renewed hopes and a stronger movement.

NEW YORK STATE CONVENTION HAS GONE ON RECORD FAVORING INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

"ET TU FEIDIAS."

"Feidias" has one pet hobby and that is to criticize people. Some day he hopes to be a second Voltaire.

We sincerely trust that for the good of the movement he will resign, and if he has not got the manhood to do so, that the directors of "Työmieks" will see fit to demand his resignation.

Anyone who will jeer at a comrade, when he is being tried because of his activities in behalf of the workers, has no place in our movement.

Go to it, Feidias! May when YOUR time comes, the capitalists remember the service that you are rendering them.

Sometimes one prefers the company of rattlesnakes!

HAVE YOU READ THE LATEST NUMBER OF THE RADICAL REVIEW?

And Compromise has always been the mother of Tragedy. By the "favors" they have received from their masters have the workers of all ages been made the inhabitants of a slave world. This conciliation and arbitration makes it possible for the capitalists to prevent any improvement in the condition of the workingclass by so-called "concessions" that become a bribe and a bit in the mouth and allow it to be steered to new ruling class and glory.—George Harvey.

HAVE YOU READ THE LATEST NUMBER OF THE RADICAL REVIEW?

JUDGE LANDIS THREATENS TO END I. W. W. TRIAL

By DAVID KARSNER.

Chicago, Ill.—The greatest labor trial in history, that of the United States versus William D. Haywood and 100 other members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who are charged with conspiring to obstruct the government's war program, nearly came to an abrupt conclusion Monday, July 29, when Federal Judge K. M. Landis told Otto Christensen, associate counsel for the defense, according to the latter, that if any more witnesses were molested or intimidated by Department of Justice agents, he would close the trial and instruct the jury to return a verdict.

"Sweated" Two Soldiers.

Judge Landis' ire was aroused immediately after he heard that two soldier witnesses for the defense, both of whom had been members of the I. W. W. up to the time of being drafted, had been detained and "sweated" by Federal agents after they left the witness stand. The men were Corporal Hugh P. Reynolds and Private Charles Thompson, both of Camp Grant, Ill.

The "Explanation."

It is understood that the Federal agents offered the explanation that they had merely inquired of the soldiers if they had received proper passes from their commanding officers. Both men were subpoenaed by the defense and had passes.

Two other soldiers were on the witness stand, Private Walter E. Carter, Fort Sheridan, Ill., and Private Arthur Stolz. The soldier quartet told Geo. F. Vanderveer, senior counsel for the I. W. W., that they had been members up to the time they were drafted and that they had never heard of any conspiracy within the labor organization to thwart American war plans.

Interested in Both Wars.

All said they were interested in the fortunes of the war and of the workers and radicals battling to keep burning the lights of liberty at home. In civil life Corporal Reynolds was a hatter in Chicago. Thompson and Carter were migratory agricultural workers, and Stolz was a logger in the Washington capms. All four said they had experienced an exceedingly difficult time in making a living in the days of national peace, and one other soldier testified that he welcomed a 'bit' in the army because it brought surcease from the incessant struggle for bread.

Prosecutor Nebeker asked Reynolds if he would still like the I. W. W. if it ordered him to leave the army. Witness replied that the I. W. W. had no power, and never tried to exercise such, in that direction. He said that his six years' membership in the organization had been physically, morally and intellectually beneficial to him and he said he wanted to see the organization grow and accomplish its industrial and social aims.

Hopes I. W. W. Will Live.

Private Thompson also said that he hoped the I. W. W. would survive the war, as it probably would be needed when the soldiers returned to civil life. Prosecutor Nebeker asked Thompson if he had ever heard the soldiers called "yellow legs" and "scab herders." Witness replied that he had heard militiamen referred

to in that manner before they went to France.

Soldier Stolz testified that he had read very little in the I. W. W. papers, Solidarity and The Industrial Worker, about the war. He said he was a logger before he was drafted, and went out on strike with his fellow-workers in July, 1917. Shortly after the strike commenced Stolz joined the I. W. W., he said.

"Your heart and soul is in this war for freedom and democracy, is it?" asked Prosecutor Nebeker.

"Yes, sir," replied the soldier. "Your heart and soul is in the I. W. W., too, is it?" asked Vanderveer.

Believes in I. W. W. Preamble.

The khaki-clad boy said further that he certainly believed in the preamble of the I. W. W., which states that the workingclass and the employing class have nothing in common.

Led by Vanderveer in redirect examination, the soldier said that he would be loyal to the country by retaining his allegiance to the I. W. W. He declared he would not be a good citizen, or a good soldier either, if he were callous toward the social and economic injustices that grew out of the present capitalist system of society, he testified.

A string of questions from Vanderveer along this line followed, with the soldier replying in the affirmative to each.

"Of course this witness is going to say 'yes, sir' to any question you might ask him in pursuance to unseating some unsocial hogs, and improving social conditions," remarked Judge Landis, vehemently.

Vanderveer hits back.

Vanderveer shot right back: "I don't know whether your honor understands that the significance and strength of this organization—and which undoubtedly got it into its present predicament, at least from our viewpoint—lies in the determination of organized and intelligent working people to rid themselves of the present system of society that is bearing them down to earth. We are not at all interested in the few unsocial hogs to which your honor has referred, only in so far as their presence is symptomatic of a system of society that is fundamentally rotten."

It was a big puff of steam that Vanderveer had let off. "Every one in the courtroom shook off his drowsiness."

"Well, proceed with something else," remarked the court finally.

For the remainder of the day Leo Laukki, former editor of Industrialist, an I. W. W. Finnish paper published at Duluth, was on the stand in his own defense.

Laukki testified that the anti-draft demonstration at Crosby, Minn., last summer was purely a racial question, and that there was nothing significant in the fact that some of the non-registrants were I. W. W. Laukki said that after the draft act was signed by the President, he came to Chicago from Duluth to learn from the Russian consul if it were absolutely necessary for Finlanders to register. There existed some doubt in the minds of the Finns because of a treaty between this country and the Romanoff dynasty, exempting

(Continued on Page 2)

DEFECTIVE PAGE

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS—If the Number Opposite Your Name on the Address Slip is 60 or less, Your Subscription to The TRUTH Has Expired, and You Should Renew at Once—Office, 101 Stack Building

The Strike of the Allouez Ore Dock Workers

By ARVID NELSON.

The most serious labor controversy that Superior has experienced for a long time, occurred last week, after a strike had broken out at the Great Northern Railway Company's ore docks in Allouez. Another occurrence of special interest took place in connection with this strike and for which there is no precedent in the history of this locality, namely, the fact that over one hundred absolutely peaceful strikers were arrested at their homes and thrown in jail. All this occurred for the simple reason that these strikers had dared to go on a strike, which right the workers of this or any other country have not surrendered even in the present situation.

No one has charged that the workers were guilty of any disturbance and no such complaint has been presented against the strikers.

That the Finnish strikers had intimidated and coerced strikers of other nationalities, that too was only "wind," of which the best proof is the fact that all such charges also fell through before even an attempt was made to prove them.

That there was no other reason for the arrest of the strikers—Finnish as well as other nationalities—than the fact that they had gone on a strike, that is proven above all by the fact that they were all released at the end of the week without a regular trial of any kind. Only a few men were still held Saturday "for further investigation."

Neither did the railroad company have anything to fear on account of the strikers. Was not one condition of the release that the men return to their former places of employment?

It has been stated in newspaper reports that the loyalty of the arrested men has been questioned and

that that phase of the matter has been investigated. But no support has been found for the suspicions.

It may be argued with good cause that these ore dock workers have been more loyal than many other workmen, for they have been satisfied with working long hours for a lower scale of wages per hour than is paid in many other lines of employment at the present time. They have been satisfied with working ten hour days for 40 cents an hour on the day shift and 42½ cents an hour on the night shift while common labor in the shipyards has had the basic eight hour day, better wages and working conditions ordered by the government for some time.

While considering the wages of the ore dock workers it must also be taken into consideration that their work is seasonal and lasts only seven months in the year at the most. The shipping of ore commences usually about the middle of April in the spring and closes during the end of November or the beginning of December, so that the dock workers must seek other employment for the winter months.

But in spite of the poor wages a new record in the shipment of ore has been attained on the Allouez ore docks this summer, and that record has been attained by the workers employed there. It is admitted that the shipment of ore under existing conditions is necessary war work, but it can not be denied that the Great Northern Railway Company is still shipping ore in order to earn profits, even though its railroads and docks are under government control on account of the war situation.

The wage demand of the ore dock workers was very reasonable when the present high cost of living is taken into consideration. Their demand was to receive 10 cts. an hour increase in wages and did not include any demand for a shorter working day nor additional pay for overtime, as they admittedly were

entitled to demand. They were loyal and did not desire to cause any cessation of work nor delay the shipment of ore. They decided to present their employers a demand which they expected their employers could accept without a dispute.

But that was not the case. A committee appointed by the workers presented their demands to the company officials on the ore docks on Saturday morning, July 27th. The strikers contend that the officials did not give any definite reply to their demands; they were only given the understanding that the officials could not grant an increase in wages because the docks were under government control, and no definite statement was made whether the company was willing to grant an increase in wages if it receives the approval of the government officials, and whether the company was willing to take the matter up with the proper government representatives.

Over five-hundred ore dock workers therefore remained off the docks voluntarily on the afternoon of the same date. It is false to contend that the strike was caused wholly by the Finns, for the Finns were in a minority among the strikers. There was not over two-hundred Finlanders among the strikers while the total number of other nationalities was over three-hundred.

And as the workers were unorganized, they, as individuals, were not under the rules of discipline or orders of any organized body, therefore the strike in this case was created by each worker on his own free will and was not forced by the decision of any organized group.

The strikers held a meeting on the Allouez ball grounds on the forenoon of the following Monday. The County Council of Defense had then taken a hand in the matter and its chairman, Solon L. Perrin, among others, had arrived in the meeting of the strikers to urge them to return to work. A vote was taken on this occasion, the purpose being to see how many of the strikers were willing to comply with the request. The vote was taken by having those who wished to continue the strike move into another group, while those who opposed remained where they were. The majority at this time were for continuing the strike until some definite reply was given to the demand for an increase in wages. It was decided to hold another meeting on the afternoon of the following day.

But the strikers did not get an opportunity to hold their meeting on Tuesday, for the city police and county officials with a number of deputies arrived in Allouez about noon and commenced the indiscriminate arrest of Finnish strikers. The police and their deputies searched through the boarding-houses and the dwellings of the Finlanders in Allouez, looking under beds and into all possible corners where men might possibly take refuge. Even such men were taken along and locked up who had not been working on the docks for months. The round-up of the strikers continued all Tuesday afternoon and far into the night. Noticing that the drive was on many men fled from the city and it is unknown whether they will ever dare to return. A total of 139 men was taken in charge by the officials during the day. All were compelled to spend a couple of nights in the close city jail of Superior which is renowned for its filthiness. As many as twenty men are stated to have been locked up in a common two-man cell for whole nights, so that most of them were compelled to stand through the long hours on their feet, not to speak of the "atmosphere" that existed in these cells. It reminds one of the "Black Hole of Calcutta."

The situation in the police headquarters was relieved after the men had been arraigned in municipal court on Wednesday, when each one was held for a hearing on August 7th under \$500 bonds. Over twenty men were then taken to the county jail at East End and 75 were transferred to the county work farm at Rockmont.

Not taking into consideration the few that were held for further investigation, all the arrested strikers, however, were released on Friday.

The release took place on the recommendation of the conciliation committee composed of representatives of the strikers, the railway company and the government railroad administration. This same committee also decided to recommend that the wage increase demanded by the strikers be granted and this recommendation is now in the hands of the federal railroad administrator in the Great Lakes district for approval. Nearly all of the strikers have returned to work with the understanding that they are now working for the increased scale of wages, so that the controversy ended in a complete victory for the workers as far as this side of the affair is concerned.

While the Finnish strikers were in jail, it was stated that the county officials were endeavoring to urge the representatives of the federal department of justice to take an interest in the case, presumably on the ground that the strikers had violated some of the provisions of the espionage law now in effect, but apparently they did not succeed for it is evident that the representatives of the department of justice are not connected with the case. The newspapers informed the world at the same time that the deportation of the "undesirable" alien strikers was being planned, which perhaps had no basis in fact whatever.

Local newspapers have also endeavored to credit O. J. Larson, a Duluth lawyer, whom the arrested men had engaged as their attorney in this case, with the release of the jailed strikers. But these same papers have not mentioned that lawyer Larson collected \$20 per man, a total of nearly \$3,000, from these strikers for the few days services that he rendered them. What lawyer would not have jumped at such a haul!

If the workers had been organized they could have acted in this. They could have instructed their own officers to carry on these negotiations with the employers and the officials. They could have saved the large sum of money that they now paid to an attorney who is known to look after the interests of the employers.

At the same time, if the strikers had been organized, they would naturally have been represented in the central council of organized labor and they would have had the support of other labor organizations in their struggle. They would not have been compelled to carry on their struggle against the exploiters of labor without any support at all of any kind.

The newspapers have also stated in connection with this case that other nationalities at the ore docks would have been willing to organize, but that the Finns have opposed it. The Finnish strikers on their part insist that they have been willing to organize, but that the workers of other nationalities have not agreed to it. It is generally known that employers continually stir up race hatred among workers of different nationalities in order to prevent them from organizing. The Great Northern Railway Company undoubtedly is no exception in this case and it is certain that it has taken advantage of other means to obstruct the organization of the workers in its employ.

In every case the moral of this struggle is once more that the interest of all unorganized workers demands that they organize into an economic organization.

Boy's Good Shoes ALWAYS at A. Y. LITMAN'S STORE

In the Carpenter's Shop. "Life's a hard grind," said the emerywheel.

"It's a perfect bore," returned the auger.

"It means nothing—but hard knocks for me," sighed the nail. "You haven't so much to go through as I have," said the saw. "I can hardly scrape along," complained the plane.

"And I'm constantly being set upon," added the bench.

"Let's strike," said the hammer.

"Cut it out!" cried the chisel, "here comes the boss."—Boston Transcript.

JUDGE LANDIS THREATENS TO END THE I. W. W. TRIAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Finns in this country from service.

Advised Registration.

Laukki was told by the counsel that all men between 21 and 31 were compelled to register. Whereupon Laukki so advised his countrymen through his paper, and pointed out the penalty for failure to comply with the law.

Laukki said that he was an officer in the Russian army during the 1905 revolt. He is, or was, an exile. He said that he had never printed a line in his paper that would be of aid or comfort to Germany, but had always advocated intelligent co-operation of the workers of all countries toward the end of putting down autocracy.

Laukki said that it was his opinion, and he had so stated in his paper, that the German majority Socialists were but the tools of the junkers. He declared that he had urged the calling of the Stockholm conference, and was sorry that the State Department had denied passports to the delegates named to represent the American Socialist party at that conference.

Good Union-Made Shoes at A. Y. LITMAN'S STORE

A HORRIBLE EXAMPLE!

Wisconsin Democrats, after rejecting a resolution in favor of "a law prohibiting the teaching of all foreign languages in the graded schools of Wisconsin," adopted the following:

"Resolved, That it be the sense of this conference that every American child be well grounded in the language of our country, in whatsoever school they may be educated."

This resolution might itself be cited as an example of the needs for better grounding in the language of our country. By its apparently studied avoidance of the word "English," however, it remains a pretty question. What is the language of our country? Is it the free and easy Americanism of the street corner? There would seem to be no special need for thorough grounding of this kind. The great problem of teachers of English is to eradicate the worst elements. It was pointed out in the Milwaukee conference that the teaching of English in the grades was safe guarded by a law limiting the teaching of any other language to one hour a day. If only this limitation could be placed upon slang!

—New York Evening Post.

For a Square Deal See A. Y. LITMAN

PHILOSOPHY OF A FOOL

(Continued from Page 4)

strength to subdue which kings and kaisers can not equal.

The dramas of Andreyev, and Hauptmann, and Bernard Shaw, and John Galsworthy, and Dreiser; the poems of Shelley, William Morris, Ernest Jones, and Giovanni; the paintings and sculptures of Millet, Walter Crane, Steinlen, and Meunier; the novels of a thousand Socialist writers; the Niagara torrent of Socialist literature pouring from the press in ever-increasing volume—all this is Art; and it is instinct with the vital force that ultimately will remake the world.

It is Art owner of its sort. Unfortunately Art for the most part is enslaved. The evil rulers of have tainted its spirit and diverted it from its true mission.

That, then, is the task of the workers—to liberate Art from its thralldom to the rich, that Art in its turn may liberate them.

How can this liberation be achieved? By learning to love Art, instead of regarding it as something alien to our lives.

By absorbing the works of authors who voice the wrongs of those who toil, and preach the

gospel of working-class supremacy.

By founding Socialist papers and magazines, and assisting in Socialist propaganda.

By wanting beautiful homes and pleasant surroundings; and opportunities for social intercourse and rational enjoyment, and such educational facilities as will develop the highest capacities of all.

In this way, Art, now in bondage to false conventions, will be set at liberty.

And in the ardor of its emancipated might it will sweep through the nations like a spiritual fire, destroying only that from the ashes there may spring a better and a sweeter world.

For Union-Made Shirts See A. Y. LITMAN

The Scandinavian Local desires to inform all those, who have purchased tickets for the Boat Excursion, that in event of the weather being wet, next Tuesday, that a social will be held in the Woodman Hall. The Scandinavian Band will be in attendance, at whatever place it is required.

Man is the only animal which has to struggle in the midst of plenty in order to keep from starving to death.

"Till the knock-out blow."—Mr. L. George. "The New Zealanders are in a ding-dong fight."—Cablegrammer. The language of the prize ring still persists.

The Moonlight EXCURSION

That the Scandinavian Local had planned to give Tuesday Evening, AUGUST 6th

IS POSTPONED TO

TUESDAY Evening **13** August

TELL AS MANY COMRADES AS POSSIBLE ABOUT THIS.

JEWISH SOCIALIST LOCAL

PIC-NIC

in the FAIRMOUNT PARK, SUNDAY, AUGUST 18

SPEAKERS: J. R. Booth in Jewish, Jack Carney in English.

There will be races and other form of entertainment.

ALL WELCOME!

LARSON BROS.

Fresh and Salt Meats, Oysters, Fish and Poultry.
Zenith phone Lincoln 162
Duluth phone Melrose 382
2728 West 1st Street, DULUTH, MINN.

Olson & Hoppenyan

Phone, Lin. 10 Phone, Mel. 7620
UNDERTAKERS
2014 West Superior Street

Have you donated to the defence fund yet?

BATHS AND SHOWER BATHS

Hotel Rex Barber Shop

R. P. JENTOFF, Prop.
10-CHAIR SHOP—10.
2001 W. Superior St., Basement DULUTH, MINN.

JENS NILSEN

1914 West 10th St.
Lincoln 479-D.

Can supply you with Pure Milk if you live between 25th Ave. W. and Piedmont.

A. FLOTTEN

— Dealer in —
STAPLE & FANCY GROCERIES
31 West 7th Street.
Zenith Phone Grand 2024
Old Phone Melrose 5531

Zenith Phone, Lin. 91
Bell Phone, Mel. 2349

B. M. HANSEN

Meat Market.
Headquarters for all imported Fish
1909 West Superior St.

WM. J. BIRD

BARBER
1922 W. Superior St.

James Brawn

FANCY SHOE WORKS

21 N. 20th Ave. West
Phone Lincoln 808-x
DULUTH MINN.

SAVE MONEY

JEWELRY and WATCHES

SOLD AND REPAIRED
M. GOLD & COMPANY,
1619 North 5th Street, SUPERIOR WIS.
New Phone, Ogden 1660.

GARBER BROS.

CLEANERS AND DYERS

WE CALL FOR AND DELIVER YOUR WORK

1806 W. Superior St.
Duluth, Minn.

Zenith Phone, Lincoln 3.
Bell Phone, Melrose 412.

Socialism & Chiropractic

Comparison between Socialism & Chiropractic.

Both are comparatively young, vital, radical and positive. One, in the application, removes the physical cause of sickness and disease, the other the cause of social injustice.

Both seeking to make this world better by equalization, one in the physical body, the other in social body.

One improves "the man" in his physical body, the other by giving "the man" superior economical advantages.

Both are born fighters, one fights the old regime of superstitious medication, the other the hide bound capitalistic system.

Both are leaders, in their respective fields, in intelligence and logic.

If you are sick, stop drugging yourself and begin taking Spinal Adjustment. The most advanced and up to date system of Natural Healing in existence. Men, women and children, young or old equally benefited and cured.

Dr. PAUL J. WENTWORTH.
(Formerly Von de Schoeppe)

2031 West Superior Street, Rooms 106—7 in the same Building with the "Truth".

Scandinavian

LOCAL MEETS

EVERY TUESDAY EVENING AT THE WOODMAN HALL, 21st AVENUE WEST & 1st ST. SWEDISH COMRADES ARE INVITED TO ATTEND.

Kolu & Vanhala

510 Manhattan Bldg. NOTARY PUBLICS.
Finnish Translators and Interpreters. On any business step in our office. We may help you. Same phones as Labor Leader. Mel. 6583, Grand 1221-A

Entertainment

— GIVEN BY —
SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL AT

WOODMAN HALL

SUNDAY EVE., AUG. 11th

1918, AT 8 O'CLOCK.

JACK CARNEY will speak

*VIOLIN SOLO BY Miss PENNELL
RECITATIONS BY JOHN D. NELSON

There will also be a good program of music, singing and recitations. REFRESHMENTS WILL BE SERVED.

Admission 35c. and 15c.

EVERYBODY WELCOME!

The Socialist Party of Canada and The Radical Review

A DISCUSSION

on the Source of Proletarian Power in Particular and Class Power in General, and the Relative Importance of Socialist Political Action and Class-conscious Industrial Unionism and the Historic Necessity for Both.

By J. Harrington, Official Representative of the Socialist Party of Canada, and Karl Dannenberg, Editor of The Radical Review.

I.

The Socialist Party of Canada's Position.

When reviewing our Manifesto in the April number of this magazine, Karl Dannenberg expresses regret that we fail to "appreciate and grasp the significance of Socialist Industrial Unionism in the organization of workers' class-consciousness (economic power) on the industrial field; in the failure to understand and recognize the destructive and constructive function of performed by Socialist Industrial Unionism (industrially organized proletarian class-consciousness) in the struggle for emancipation." We are invited to examine the position laid down in "Constructive Elements of Socialism" and justify this serious defect in an otherwise "impregnable and unassailable position"; the columns of the Radical Review being placed at our disposal for that purpose.

The pleasant and earnest manner in which the criticism is offered is much to our liking; unity on the part of those who recognize the need of working class enlightenment is necessary now and will be imperative in the near future.

We will proceed to examine the points dealing with Socialist Industrial Unionism in "Constructive Elements of Socialism." Huxley says in his Discourses that the slaying of a beautiful hypothesis by an ugly fact is the great tragedy of science, and it seems to us that Comrade Dannenberg (in the Huxleyan sense) is confronted with this monstrous duty and shirks the responsibility. We do not regard the slaughter of theories, though endowed with the most endearing young charms, as essentially tragic. We do, however, realize that certain ideas and theories are peculiar to certain social groups; that to question them engenders suspicion; to deny them

means expulsion from the group. The more vitally do these ideas concern the interests of those holding them, the more extreme are the penalties visited upon the heterodox. Outrageous personal characteristics are discounted by harmony of vital views, but woe betide the heretic; the color of his hair, the cut of his shoes, are held up to derision. He is no good and never was. We might have no compunction about slaughtering a beautiful theory, but we cannot lightly regard severing connection from those with whom we habitually associate. That is why our thoughts gain in power as "we find them reflected in our fellow man."

We are led to these considerations by the opening paragraphs of "The Constructive Elements of Socialism," to which, however, barring the dual conception of "Socialist Science" and a mixed metaphor, we subscribe without reserve.

"And without a sound knowledge of capitalist production, no effective Socialist activity, economic or political, is possible." (Emphasis original.) "... the strength of the Socialist movement is necessarily to be found in a sound and comprehensive understanding of its principles and aims by the rank and file ... familiarity with the fundamentals of the Socialist philosophy is an imperative prerequisite for a conception of party problems and also for a proper understanding of Socialist tactics." (Radical Review, pp. 302-303.) It is evidently the purpose of Comrade Dannenberg to impress this message upon his readers, for it occurs again and again in his articles, and properly so. The advocate, however, soon gains ascendancy over the investigator, and at his point we part company.

"The survey of the economic, social and political position of the capitalist class reveals, that the basic power or influence of this class resides not, as is so often erroneously assumed, in its political domination or control of government, but in its economic rule over society. History teaches and profusely illustrates: that the class in control of the economic resources of society in a given period has also been the class to exercise practical control over political society, i. e., over society itself. History vindicates the contention that the economic life of society, the form of ownership and method of production and exchange

existing at a certain stage of social development, is the compellin factor, the preponderant form, which determines, influences and shapes all other ethical, moral, intellectual and political, in short—cultural phases of life." (Radical Review, page 304.) History vindicates the contention set down, but that vindication has nothing to do with the propositions contained in the preceding sentences. To conclude that two propositions, one demonstrable, the other hypothetical, are similar, to assume mutual connections between them, and then to establish the truth of the theory upon the proof of the fact is a common logical error. Yet this is precisely what Comrade Dannenberg unconsciously does. The statement that Rome enslaved people solely by her "superior and well-organized economic resources and disciplined armies" is on par with the Irishman who had his neighbor arrested with the help of God and a couple of policemen. What about the tyrannies of "Antique Slavery" where one man, master of the well-disciplined armies, plundered and sapped the "superior and well-organized economic resources" at will? Sulla and his Proscription List, for instance, before which the wealthy Roman, through idle curiosity, stood, to see with "panic-stricken amazement his own name inscribed thereon. What economic resources could withstand the master of forty legions? He accepts his fate with a muttered "My magnificent villa has signed my death warrant!" Carthage, a constant prey to her mercenary armies, Rome, herself, at the pinnacle of her dazzling pomp and military grandeur, following the age of the Antonine and The Pax Romana, plundered and outraged for almost a century by Praetorian Guards, eunuchs, madmen, and degenerates of all kinds, not reckoning some wealthy freed men, whose power and rapacity few emperors excelled.

To say "With the decay and fall of Slavery the marvelous splendor and the political and military power of Rome also collapsed" is to state a half truth, aside from the fact that political and military power go hand in hand. Had the successive waves of Barbarians not swept over Rome she would have lingered for centuries, as did Constantinople in all her majesty. It was not that Slavery had fallen, for it had not. It was that the fruits of slavery—poverty at one end and luxury at the other—had debauched Rome and rendered her the prey of those fearless and vigorous hosts, which her geographical position and great wealth invited. For centuries before Attila's advent set the Barbarian world in motion Rome was notorious for childless men and women. The Roman satirists savagely expose the fawning homage heaped upon the childless rich. Abortion was rampant, while the proletariat, fed on free corn and oil, with the service of prostitutes costing but little more, passed up the state function of breeding for the army, whose soldiers again were forbidden to marry. The corruption which rendered Rome impotent made for Feudalism, which was really a state of disorganization—a marking time until society had recovered from the shock and manner of Rome's fall.

We cannot do more here than point out that under Feudalism, ownership of land was not the source of power, any more than ownership of slaves in Rome was, but military might. When Clovis established some form of a political state, patterned upon the Roman empire, to him and his associates fell the fruits of what civilization remained. When social development made the Mayors of the Palace all powerful, it was military might which enabled them to depose the Merovingians and in due the Pope to bless and sanctify that act. The Pope required the military power of Pepin and an alliance was formed, from which arose the Papal Hierarchy. The Political State of Gaul, raised by Charlemagne, was seized by the Capets just before a new barbarian wave submerged the budding civilization. The Northern Vikings again proclaim the world's dreaded arbiter—military might. All through history the right to rob and rule rests in the last analysis upon military might. In civilization that might is vested in the state. Comrade Dannenberg denies all this. He maintains that the right to rob and rule lies in ownership of the predominant producing factors, Chattel Slaves, Land, and

Capital. Out of this postulate flow a number of premises, which, under the circumstances, we must pass over.

Taking up the thread of his argument, where he states that the workers must "meet the economic might of the plutocrats with the superior economic might of the workers" (page 306), which he declares lies in the "consciousness of the proletariat's indispensability as a productive agent—in the consciousness of being the working class. This class-consciousness of the workers is the generator of the economic power of the proletariat." (Page 307, emphasis original.) The conclusion of the article in the January issue reiterates this assertion. We deny this entirely.

The worker becomes class-conscious, not by recognizing his indispensability to production, a fact of which no worker is ignorant, but in the knowledge of his enslavement as a class.

In the April number, page 332, we are again told that economic power conquers political power, a fact which history and sociology substantiates, and that a recognition of this fact by the workers will eventually compel them to organize and conduct their struggle against Capitalism accordingly. After this preliminary recapitulation, the investigator expels the advocate, and again we walk the same path.

No form of organization is of any value to the working class, we are told, unless it is Socialist in principle. No activity will avail unless it is Socialist in character. "Class-conscious Socialist action can only be the product of a scientific conception of capitalist production, and can in consequence have only a certain meaning to the working class." "The only demand worthy of unstinted working class support is one which demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class—the Socialist Commonwealth."

To this and what follows in the next paragraph respecting the need of keeping the issue clear, we heartily agree. But when we make deductions from these conclusions, we differ fundamentally.

We conclude that the function of a Socialist organization is to make Socialists. Comrade Dannenberg finds it necessary to have two wings. A political and an industrial. Speaking of the function of politics in the Class Struggle, he states our view exactly, until he assumes that "the political victory of the workers will naturally be synonymous with the abolition of politics." We must ask him to go slowly. Society does not move in that fashion. We believe political government will die out, we know it cannot be abolished. If we have read history aright, and have understood science correctly, social forces are at the mercy of economic conditions. It is beyond the power of man to abolish them. It is for this reason we refuse to entangle ourselves with Industrial Unionism. Now the Industrial Unionism advanced in "Constructive Elements of Socialism" is not like any that ever was on sea or land. It is Socialist Industrial Unionism. It is based upon the workers' economic power, and that, alas, is neither economic, nor power. It is in fact the recognition of the workers' entire lack of economic resource.

Other contenders in other class struggles had tangible forms of wealth over which they fought. The patrician and plebeian of ancient Rome; the free cities and the liege lord of feudalism; the industrial capitalist and the feudal state of early capitalism; and all of these contending parties used their wealth to seduce, organize and instruct the proletarians to fight their battles. Now these same slaves stand before the last victors in a final struggle for supremacy. We cannot see any reason for creating two organizations to perform the same task. The class-conscious workers who capture the political state will be the same workers who must solve the problem of reorganizing society. And if Comrade Dannenberg insists that the form of the organization is of no importance, and an understanding of Socialist aims and Marxian knowledge upon the part of its members is of supreme importance, we concur. The only quarrel we have with him is his dual conception of things in general and the Marxian theoretical system in particular.

We know that when a sufficient number of our class realize their position, they will no longer serve as turnkeys of their own economic

bondage, and the day of slavery will have passed, we trust, for ever. Unions, industrial or craft, have their roots in the economic conditions of Capitalism, to gain a footing and continue to expand they must fulfill a requirement within capitalism and function therein. This, no union, which meets the requirement of Comrade Dannenberg's Socialist Industrial Union can do. We consider Comrade Dannenberg is guilty of a grave offense against his own intelligence when he makes the workers' lack of economic resource synonymous with the masters' economic resources, by symbolizing them both as economic power. We disapprove of the latter term any way. Words are symbols which we apply as tags to the thoughts, we seek to express relating to the phenomena of our existence. Comrade Dannenberg tells us on page 305: "The title of private ownership in the means of production is the cornerstone of capitalist social influence—the generator of every form of capitalist power." (Emphasis original.) What, then, is this capitalist's power of manifold form? Obviously the powers of state. Granted the influence exerted upon society by its control of the industrial plant is sufficient to maintain the capitalist class in control of the state powers. This means that though its economic resources the capitalist class can influence the educational, juridical and political machinery of society. Its economic power, therefore, appears to rest in its ability to purchase other powers. The source of all power, however, rests in the state. Apart from the fact that the capitalist method of production is proving itself totally inadequate to the task of maintaining society, and must, if civilization remains, give place to a new social order. Apart from that fact, in the last analysis, the capitalist class remains in control of "every form of capitalist power" through the ignorance of the oppressed class. For it is folly to suppose any class of men endowed with enlightened class interest and fully conscious of its tremendous strength would submit to the conditions under which the modern wage workers live. They being supreme in every department of real power exerted by the modern state it seems to us, therefore, that the dispelling of working class ignorance and the making of class-conscious Socialists is the task appointed to the revolutionary proletariat. For the rest we are content not only to let the dead past bury its dead but to let the unborn future procure its own midwife.

J. Harrington.

LITMAN'S STORE is at
1831 W. SUPERIOR ST.

CASTOR OIL AND CANDY.

While the rich stand on velvet, the poor stand in queues.—English Labor paper.

No one is more of a slave than he who fancies himself free without actually being so.—Goethe.

Most of the debts on Europe represented condensed drops of blood.—Henry Ward Beecher.

The genuine scholar learns to evolve the unknown from the known, and in this way approaches the master.—Goethe.

Even in moments of the highest happiness and of the deepest misery, we stand in need of the artist.—Goethe.

"Whether Germany is fighting for her existence or not, it is clear that the Kaiser is fighting for his," says the Savannah "News." That paper forgets that Kaisers and Kings don't fight in these degenerate days.

You'll save money by buying
at A. Y. LITMAN'S

Singer Sells
SINGER SEWING
MACHINES

600 2nd Ave. East, Grand 1481-X

INDUSTRIAL AND
POLITICAL UNITY

By JAMES CONNOLLY.
At meetings throughout the country one frequently hears

speakers laboring to arouse the workers to their duty, exclaiming:

"You unite industrially, why then do you divide politically? You unite against the bosses in strikes and lockouts, and then you foolishly divide when you go to the ballot box. Why not unite at the ballot box as you unite in the workshop? Why not show the same unity on the political field as you do on the industrial battlefield?"

At first blush this looks to be an exceedingly apt and forcible form of appeal to our fellow-workers, but when examined more attentively it will be seen that in view of the fact of our industrial warfare this appeal is based upon a flagrant misstatement of facts. The real truth is that the workers do not unite industrially, but on the contrary are most hopelessly divided on the industrial field, and that their confusion and division on the political field are the result of their division and confusion on the industrial field.

It would be easy to prove that even our most loyal trade unionists habitually play the game of the capitalist class on the industrial field just as surely as the Republican and Democratic workers do it on the political field. Let us examine the situation on the industrial field and see if it justifies the claim that economically the workers are united, or if it justifies the contention I make that the division of the workers on the political field is but the reflex of the confused ideas derived from the practice of the workers in strikes and lock-outs.

Quite recently we had a great strike of the workers employed on the subway and elevated systems of street car service in New York. The men showed a splendid front against the power of the mammoth capitalist company headed by August Belmont, against which they were arrayed. Conductors, motormen, ticket-choppers, platform men, repairers, permanent way men, ticket-sellers—all went out together and for a time paralyzed traffic on their respective systems.

The company, on the other hand, had the usual recourse to Jim Farley and his scabs and sought to man the trains with those professional traitors to their class. The number of scabs was large, but small in proportion to men on strike, yet the strike was broken. It was not the scabs, however, who turned the scale against the strikers in favor of the men. That service to capital was performed by good union men with union cards in their pockets. These men were the engineers in the power houses which supplied the electric power to run the cars, and without whom all the scabs combined could not have run a single trip.

A scab is a vile creature, but what shall we say of the men who helped the scab to commit his act of treason? The law says that an accessory before the fact is equally guilty of a crime with the actual criminal. What, then, are the trade unionists who supplied the power to scabs to help them break a strike? They were unconsciously being compelled by their false system of organization to betray their struggling brothers.

Was this unity on the industrial field? And is it any wonder that the men accustomed to so scab upon their fellow-workers in a labor struggle should also scab it upon their class in a political struggle? Is it not rather common sense to expect that the recognition of the necessity for concerted common action of all workers against the capitalist enemy in the industrial battle ground must precede the realization of the wisdom of common action as a class on the political battlefield?

The men who are taught that it is all right to continue working for a capitalist against whom their shopmates of a different craft are on strike are not likely to see any harm in continuing to vote for a capitalist nominee at the polls even when he is opposed by the candidate of a labor organization. Political scabbery is born of industrial scabbery; it is its legitimate offspring.

THAT'S ALL WE DO
EXAMINE EYES and FIT GLASSES
BUT WE DO IT RIGHT
Drs. Larson & Larson
Specialists
BEMIDJI MINNESOTA

Superior Scandinavian Local
Local No. 55
MEETS AT
HARMONY HALL,
1227 Banks Ave. every Sunday eve.
at 8 o'clock
EVERYBODY WELCOME.

WEST END SHOE
WORKS

Fred Johnson, Prop.

First Class Shoe repairing

218 28th Avenue West.

Lincoln 35-D.

DULUTH, MINN.

You cannot catch fish unless
you buy good fishing tackle.

— at —

ERICKSON'S
Hardware

2021 W. Superior St., Duluth.

O. T. ROSAAS
PHOTOGRAPHER.

Lincoln 599-X Melrose 9219
2020 West Superior Street.

John Magnuson
REFRESHMENTS PARLOR
1929 W. Superior St.
COFFEE, LUNCHEONS AND
REFRESHMENTS.

For
ECONOMY AND QUALITY
visit

GUST HJELM
GROCER.

2001 W. Second St., Duluth.

Zenith Phone, Lincoln 780.
Bell Phone, Melrose 6060.

THE JOHNSON CLOTHING
STORE—

Andrew G. Johnson, Prop.
New Location, 2908 W. 3 St.
New Phone, Lincoln 656.

Clothing, Furnishings and
Shoes.

Shoes for the whole family.
Gordon Hats.
Wilson Bros. Shirts.

JOHN GAJEWSKI

DEALER IN
MEAT AND WOOD

4 WEST 8th STREET.

PHONES: Grand 2275, Melrose 6940

ZENITH WOOD YARD OFFICE

30 EAST 9th STREET.

NEW PHONE GRAND 1020.

Summer is Here

Let us Develop Your Films
and make Your prints and
Enlargements on

CYKO
ANSECO Cameras
ANSECO Films

THE PEOPLES
DRUG STORE

2015 W. Superior St.

The PROLETARIAN

A MONTHLY SOCIALIST
PAPER FOR SOCIALISTS

For Sale By
Tyndine, Superior, Wis.
Tyndine, Sixth Ave. West, Duluth.
Zenith News Stand 417 East 4th St.,
Duluth.
S. Minvets, Newsagent, Virginia,
Minn.

Subscription rate 50c for 10
issues. Single Copies 5c.
Sample copy mailed on request.
Address: 17 John R St., Detroit, Mich.

SHOES FOR ALL

A person should buy their shoes days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused.

Our Shoes are selected from the best makers' best efforts, and the man we shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you trade. We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer. — We are Union men selling and repairing Shoes.

The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address. 1621 W. Sup. St.

Zenith Phone Lincoln 117-A.

FOR A GOOD PAIR OF SHOES GO TO

Bargain Shoe Store

MEN'S, LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S SHOES.

12 21st Avenue West, Duluth, Minn.

MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

WHEN YOU VISIT FAIRMONT PARK
CALL AND SEE COMRADE

OTTO NEWDOLL

7107 WASECA STREET.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

1 Year \$1.50
Six Months 85c

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

Address Communications to TRUTH, 101
Stack Building, Duluth, Minn.
— PHONE Mel. 2517 —

WHAT IS THERE IN LIFE ANYWAY?

In the turmoil of today, with our eyes growing weary at the enormous figures in money and men, England for instance, spends a million and half per hour to carry on the war, with your ears buzzing with the cries of pro-Germanism, because you want to abolish ALL Kaisers, with all manner of injustices being perpetrated, and with the knowledge that if you dare to speak of them, on the morrow you may land into a prison cell, one is compelled to ask **WHAT IS THERE IN LIFE ANYWAY?**

Our senses reel today, that is if we have not become chloroformed by a lying press, under the titanic forces that make play throughout the world.

Visions of Europe blind the watcher with their immensity.

Millions of dollars, thousands of millions of dollars are being thrown into a huge furnace of destruction.

Why?

Because a mad king, the spokesman of a mad ruling class desires to dispose of the surplus wealth, created by HIS many millions of slaves.

Whilst Germans are hungry for the want of food, other Germans are dying to get a place in the sun, so that they may create more wealth and send it abroad, even though they need it themselves.

For the task of disposing of the surplus wealth created by the selfsame workers, OUR class and YOUR class must sacrifice its very life in order to teach this MAD DOG of Europe, that he does not possess all the armies and all the navies in the world. What a lesson that is being taught and at what cost! Pause, you who have fought the Socialists, pause and think for a little while!

Whilst the guns are bellowing and sending forth their streams of death, pause and ask yourselves, **WHAT IS THERE IN LIFE ANYWAY?**

DEATH all around, whether it be on the battle field or in a slum! DEATH whether it be in a lonely room in some redlight district or in a lone cot of a workhouse! DEATH, DEATH, the great deliverer, comes and many answer its call. Again we ask, **WHAT IS THERE IN LIFE ANYWAY?**

THERE IS SOMETHING IN LIFE AFTER ALL.

Life is good.

Life is real.

Life can be made good and worth while if you want it so. When your heart is stricken with anguish and the tears blind your eyes, think and ask yourself **is there no way out?** When next your heart is moved to pity because a girl is selling herself, ask yourself again, **IS THERE NO WAY OUT?**

THERE IS A WAY OUT!

WILL YOU TRAVEL THE ROAD THAT WILL LEAD YOU OUT OF ALL THIS MISERY?

WELL, COME WITH US.

WHO?

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

What, the Socialists, the destroyers of homes, religion, etc.? What, travel with these pro-Germans! Not me!

Then you can stay in your misery, for the only road out must be travelled with the Socialists, as a Socialist and a class-conscious belief in your own organized power.

Look at Europe, and then say we destroy homes. Never mind Europe, look at Duluth and Superior, and then be so childish as to say, we, the Socialists, will destroy the home. Of course we will destroy some homes and you will help us. We will destroy all the stinking slums we find. We will let the children breathe the pure air and so give them a chance to live a decent life.

As regards religion. We would rather sit down and worship the smile of little children, than worship in a church that was built out of the money that was wrung from unfortunate women and starved workers. Give us the sunshine and the clear blue sky, before the hypocritical atmosphere, tainted with the breath of your child-slaves, and white-slavers!

YES, THERE IS SOMETHING IN LIFE, AFTER ALL!

The boys will be coming home soon. You cannot fight present day wars for thirty years like the wars of old. When you spend millions per hour, there has got to be a day of reckoning. **AND THERE WILL BE.**

The boys from the factories are breathing fresh air. They are facing death and gaining new experiences. Experiences that can never be effaced from the human mind. Experiences that will never be forgotten. When they come home they will face death with the same grim determination as they are facing it in the trenches. Woe be gone the man who dares to filch the liberties that they possessed before they went to Europe. Comrades, sure, there is something in life after all. Back from the trenches those boys are coming. Not back to the Republican or Democratic parties, they are coming back to us. We shall welcome them with open arms. We shall take them into our organization and by the strength of their numbers and the experiences they have gone through, no one can stay our power.

Comrades, there is something in life after all. When the war is over and the organized workers stand together in one working-class organization; when they know why they are organizing, then you will agree with us that there is something in life after all!

COMRADES, WHAT OF THE NIGHT, with its misery and oppression? What of the night, when all hope seems to have fled and our comrades lie in prison? What of the night, when the striking Finnish comrades are cast into prison, because they want some of the profits they have created? What of the children dying for the want of food? What of the women selling their bodies and

souls that they might live? What of the I. W. W. boys, rotting in their cells, because they stood by their class? **WHAT OF SUCH A NIGHT?**

Comrades, cheer up, the night will soon be over. The long, long night cannot last forever. Soon the dawn will appear in all its glory and then, comrades all, we shall stand with the sunlight of a new day in our eyes. Stand erect and say **THERE IS SOMETHING IN LIFE AFTER ALL!**

SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

Superior, Wis., July 31st, 1918.

Dear Comrade:

Enclosed please find a money order for fifty dollars (\$50.00) which the Scandinavian Socialist Club No. 55, Superior, is asking to buy shares in the Truth Publishing Company; if shares cannot be bought, we will donate the money, because we all like the paper and wish it prosperity and success.

The paper is good and so is its editor.

I want to send my sincere thanks for the speech he delivered at Billings Park last Sunday. All the comrades sure appreciated it and thought it was a grand success.

I am,

Yours fraternally,

John Engstrom.

BOY, PAGE ARMSTEAD AND MC!

Louis Kopelin, staunch advocate of the war, more jingoistic than Roosevelt. So much for the war is he, that he obtained exemption, so that he might go to Europe and tell the people how the Socialists of America are behaving.

He wires to the Appeal, which paper, by the way, cut out the REASON, that Secretary Baker and Lansing are asking General Pershing to arrange meetings for Louis to address. Shows we are making strides, when our Government officers arrange meetings for Socialists (!). Guess the Commercial Club owes us an apology. Wonder will Armstead follow out the example of Messrs. Baker and Lansing and allow us to address his employees on how to live on five per? If not, will McKercher allow us to address his men, so that we can explain to them which side of the class-struggle they are on? Surely such full-fledged Americans as Armstead, McKercher and the Square Deal Committee will not require much persuasion?

On another page we are printing a discussion on Socialist tactics. J. Harrington representing the S. P. of Canada, takes up the position that it is only necessary for the workers to obtain political power, in order to achieve their emancipation. Karl Dannenburg, editor of the Radical Review, takes up the position that the workers must organize industrially, in order to make their political power effective. This week we print the views of comrade Harrington. Next week we shall print comrade Dannenburg's views. In the meantime, a full report of the debate can be obtained from this office for twenty-five cents. We advise you to send one dollar to Radical Review, 202 East 17th Street, New York City, for one year's subscription. You will be surprised at the amount of material contained in one issue. Dannenburg is one of the best writers on scientific socialism, in America. His articles are well written and his arguments are not obscured by rhetoric. The Radical Review contains the soundest arguments that we have ever had the pleasure to read. Those of you who have read the new book on Marx, by Dannenburg, will appreciate the truth of what we write. Send that dollar and you will never have cause to regret it.

Subscription price of Truth from now on is \$1.50 per year. Old subscribers can renew at old rates during the next two weeks.

SPEAKING OF "TRUTH."

Biwabik Times: The so-called Truth, a worthless lying Socialistic publication from Duluth, continues to come through the mails. This vile publication, filled as it is with the worst possible misrepresentation and falsehood, should have been suppressed long since. There is not a week that it does not slander the government, vilify the people and do all in its power to nullify the efforts of the American people to make it safe for democracy.

The poor editor who wrote the above must have had some nightmare. He is wasting his talents in a small town. With such a vivid imagination he would make a fortune on the movie stage.

We have never slandered this or any other government. To slander means to maliciously lie about people. We have always told the truth, hence the reason why the editor of the Biwabik Times fails to understand us. It is more than human to expect the editor of a capitalist newspaper to perceive the truth. He is paid to distort the truth, therefore we feel highly honored by the above advertisement. We are glad that the Duluth Herald gave it publicity, it advertises all the more the paper we are PROUD to edit.

When you hit a dog it barks and yells, like all whipped curs do. The same applies to the editor of the Biwabik Times.

We are out for industrial democracy. We have no belief in mere claptrap. Anyone can talk about democracy. You can get the kind, the editor of the Biwabik Times believes in, in the cemetery. We are out for real democracy. One under which the workers will own

and control and all those, like our editor friend, will have no say whatever, unless they perform some useful service in society. We will adopt as our slogan, "Starve or Serve."

The above editorial reminds us of two Irishmen who were discussing the coming elections. One was a Republican and the other a Democrat. The Democrat was getting the best of the argument, so the Republican turned around and said to the Democrat, "You are nothing but a dirty, drunken, dissolute, dissipated, demoralized, degenerated Democrat." The Democrat turned around and replied, "Well, Pat, you must admit apart from all that I am alright."

WE FEEL THE SAME WAY.

ON LEGALITY.

In our last issue there appeared a letter of protest from our good comrade Booth of Superior.

He protested against our stating that we were a LEGAL party and also insofar that we advised comrades to obey the law. Anyone who understands present day society, knows that the individual is powerless against organized society and furthermore, any group of individuals who are apart from the industrial machine, they too are powerless. Hence we do not advise people to break the law, even if that law is bad. Max Stirner said, and rightly so, that "the slave who rebels when he is weak is foolish."

Comrades who are revolutionary and thoroughly understand the class struggle, need no advice regarding the law. No person or set of persons will make us perform any work that we feel we should not do. The same applies to all revolutionists. A revolutionist knows his own position, when it comes to matters effecting himself.

We shall carry on the legal fight so long as we can; when capitalism becomes so desperate that it is impossible to carry on our fight in a legal manner, then, comrades, we shall be ready. But the legal way is before us, the other way means bloodshed, death and suffering. Let us not court unnecessary suffering.

When comrades get to the stage, where they not only understand the class struggle, but also FEEL it, no one can camouflage them.

Comrade Booth, sit down! You are rocking the boat.

"WAR PICTURES."

The other evening we visited a local picture house and witnessed pictures taken from the battlefields of Europe.

The sight that most impressed us, was the capturing of some German fellow-workers. Young and old, they were taken behind the Allied lines and forwarded to the depot. Some of the prisoners were in a sorry plight and we were glad to notice, that even though war was raging, the American boys did not allow the fact that they were at war, to prevent them from showing their comradeship. It was good to see American boys giving cigarettes to the German soldiers. It was an act of real comradeship. It made our hearts glad, because we realized at that moment, that if workers of various nations, at war with each other, could exhibit comradeship at a time when they were engaged in fighting each other to the bitter end, then nothing could stay the international organization of the working-class. **We say it was good to see that spirit of comradeship in evidence.**

Behind us sat a well-known local lawyer. Everybody knows the lawyer we refer to. He is one of the biggest "mouthy" patriots in Duluth. He can talk and talk, that is all he can do. When he saw the American boys displaying a feeling of fellowship towards their German fellow-workers, he said, "Why don't our boys put a bayonet through them." Sure, that is what our big-mouthed lawyer friend wanted. It is his kind that foster hatred and make people so easily prepared for war. So long as we have that type of being, so long will we have war. This lawyer is one of those "nice," hypocritical, canting members of the middleclass. They are for arbitration, when the workers come out on strike. But when nations come out on strike, they want to see seas of blood, etc. No arbitration then. Our lawyer friend never thinks of enlisting. Not he, his work is in the spotlight of some picture show, talking about what other men do. He knows as much about real war, as an Eskimo knows about Irish stew.

Once we were for peace, we thought that peace would be a good thing. Now we are for the continuation of the war. The war has proved to be a melting pot. Into that melting pot will go our lawyer friend with his fourteenth century ideas, along with the system that allows him to prosper, even though he does not do a honest day's toil. **Out of capitalism came this war. And out will go capitalism because of this war.**

We have fought our fight and it has been a hard one. It has meant much sacrifice, but today we feel doubly assured that it has not been all in vain. Back from the trenches will come OUR boys and they will not forget the experiences they have gone through. When they come back, many a tale will be told and many of our "mouthy" patriots will have to answer one question, "What did you do when we were risking our life in Europe?" Upon the answer to that question depends many things. We can say that whilst you were risking life and death against the biggest tyrant in Europe, we were doing the same against tyrants at home.

Go on, my good mouthy lawyer, your days are numbered. Look towards Russia and hurl yourself to sleep with the silly editorials of the News-Tribune and the Herald. For when you awake, you will have cause to remember many things.

PHILOSOPHY OF A FOOL

By TOUCHSTONE.

Art, and the Workers.

"Those that are Fools, let them use their Talents."—Twelfth Night.

When I say that Art will save mankind, am I really serious?

A correspondent wants to know.

"I have often heard you declare," he writes, "that salvation will come through the working class. Now, like a motley John the Baptist, you stalk in from the wilderness of Folly proclaiming a new Saviour. It is Art, this time, we must look to for redemption! Are you serious?"

Brother, I answer with a candor equal to your own: I am never serious. I repudiate the suggestion that I ought to be serious. I am a Fool. I simply utter whatever comes into my head, and let the word-seeds fall just where they may, to fructify or perish, as chance decrees.

I am no more serious than the wind is, or the rain is, or the flowers that bloom in the skies are, or the stars that shine on the ground.

I have a notion, brother, that seriousness belongs to the wiseacres, and is a symptom of stupidity.

I scatter thoughts about me. That is the beginning and the end of a Fool's function. Whether the thoughts are consistent with one another I care not.

My only concern is to get them out of my head, and give them such freedom as place and time afford.

That there is good reason for their existence I do not doubt. Though they die in the very instant of their liberation, I am convinced the universe had need of them, and that some deep purpose of destiny was served by their brief being.

It is true I have said that the world must be saved by the workers. It is true I have said that the world must be saved by Art.

Both of these thoughts I have set free. It would not impair their value though there seemed an irreconcilable difference between them, for Nature takes the Yea and the Nay of things and breaks them both to her will.

Never do Earth and Heaven meet, yet each without the other could not be.

It so happens, however, that salvation by the workers and redemption by Art are twin thoughts. They supplement and amplify each other. What one lacks the other possesses. What one asserts the other supports.

So interdependent are they that one involves the other, and can not be understood apart from it. When I say that mankind will be saved by Art, I infer that it will be saved by the workers. When I proclaim that the workers alone can redeem the race, it is as if I said that without Art the race is doomed.

What IS Art but the expression of the worker's soul?

When Art is degraded, what does it mean but the soul of the worker is still in contact with the slime?

Art is something more than pictures to hang on the walls, and pieces to bang on the piano, and poems to spout.

Art manifests itself in a thousand ways. It appeals to us by all the avenues of intelligence and all the mediums of emotion.

It is the image of our thoughts. It is the reflex of our feelings. It is the measure of our aspirations. It is the evidence of our achievements.

It is everything that differentiates us from savagery—our social institutions, our industrial

methods, our scientific attainments, the work we do, the houses we live in, the clothes we wear, the books we read, the plays we see.

And the criterion of Art is the ideas in our heads and the passions in our breasts.

Judged in this way, the Labor Movement has a long road to travel, because its Art-sense is but crude and rudimentary.

The workers are not sensitive to Art, except of the most primitive kind.

They are content to dwell in mean habitations, with shabbiness, and even squalor, all around them.

They offer no protest when every pretense of pleasure is eliminated from their work, so that instead of being craftsmen, embodying a creative joy in the labor of their hands, they are the merest drudges, the veriest slaves, toiling for food and shelter, with no stimulus but the whip of necessity.

The clothes they are satisfied to put upon their backs are evidence of their ignorance of Art values. The cheapest and most inferior fabrics are for them; the shoddiest shop-made garments are good enough for the working class.

The other sex is helping us here. I like to see young girls employed in shops and factories turning their eyes upon expensive fashions—dainty frocks and hats, silk stockings and high-laced boots. I like to see them scorn- ing brummagem jewelry, and reaching out for real diamonds and pearls and 18-carat gold.

They are raising the standard of living. Unconsciously, but effectively, they are playing a big part in the war against poverty and misery and ugliness.

When they insist on the best seats in at the theatre, and the choicest brands of chocolates to munch while the play proceeds, they are lifting the status of Labor and doing something solid for the progress of the race.

The workers should cultivate what the wiseacres denounce as "extravagant tastes." There is no sensible reason, no moral reason, why those who create all wealth should use as little of it as possible, and permit the rest to be appropriated and squandered by luxurious thieves.

I want the working class to demand the cream of everything that civilization provides, and refuse to be happy till they get it.

That is what I mean by Art—the improvement of social conditions; the creation of an environment of culture and comfort and happiness.

That is what I mean when I say that Art has power to save the world, for it grows upon itself; the more of it we get the more of it we'll have.

The logical climax of the love of Art is the Social Revolution.

It is through Art, too, that the workers will exercise their power. Ideals conquer when the greatest armies are of no avail. Thought is a high explosive more potent by far than gelignite.

The thinkers of our Movement, without raising a finger, without a single sword or a lethal weapon of any description, are overturning dynasties, and shaking Empires to their foundations.

The dreamers of our Movement, in spite of all that Armageddon bellows to the contrary, are beating the warlords, and presently will bury them in history's unconsecrated ground.

The teachings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels have a

(Continued on Page 3.)